1: Jenness--143-144 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 181

"There is a theory, advanced by M. Mauss, that not only does the economic life of the Eskimos undergo a complete transformation from summer to winter, and from winter to summer, but that their social organization and religious life also are so profoundly modified as to be radically different at the two seasons. M. Mauss, for example, says, 'La vie sociale des Eskimos se présente donc à nous sous deux formes nettement opposables, et parallèles à leur double morphologie. Sans doute, entre l'une et l'autre, il y a des transitions: ce n'est pas toujours de façon abrupte que le groupe rentre dans ses quartiers d'hiver, ou en sort; de même ce n'est pas toujours d'une seule et unique famille qu'est composé le petit campement d'été. Mais il n'en reste pas moins d'une façon générale que les hommes ont deux manières de se grouper, et qu'à ces deux formes de groupement, correspondent deux systèmes juridiques, deux morales, deux sortes d'économie domestique et de vie religieuse. A une communauté réelle d'idées et d'intrerets dans l'agglomeration dense de l'hiver, a une forte unite mentale religieuse et morale, s'opposent un isolement, une poussière sociale, une extrême pauvreté morale et religieuse dans l'éparpillement de l'été.' (1)

"1. L'Année Sociologique, 9me Année, 1904-1905, p.124."

Now as far as the Copper Eskimos are concerned the brief sketch that has been given of their life during the two seasons suffices to disprove this theory. Changes in their environment, it is true, produce marked changes in their economic life. At one season they are dispersed into small bands that seek their sustenance on the land by hunting and fishing, at another they are assembled into large communities on the sea-ice and live by sealing. But their social organization and their religious life continue unchanged during both periods. They have different dwellings at the two seasons, tents in summer and snow huts in winter; but it is only because nature compels them to make the change; for, whether on land or on the sea, they prefer to live in snow huts whenever it is at all practicable. Given snow and ice and the possibility of procuring [144] seals in mid-summer, many of the natives would live at that season exactly as in winter; the skins they require for clothing they would obtain by trade with their neighbours. Contrarily, if trapping for foxes ever becomes profitable, and the natives are assured of fuel and food apart from seals, nothing in their social organization or their religious beliefs will prevent them from abandoning their winter life given over to sealing, exactly as their kinsmen have done in northern Alaska. The introduction of rifles, and the stimulus it has given to the hunting of caribou on land, has already shortened the period of sealing on the sea-ice. In fact there is really no fundamental change in their lives at the two seasons, but merely an external difference occasioned by, and directly

reflecting, the difference in their climatic and economic environment."

"To the Copper Eskimo goodness means social goodness, that and no more. Whatever directly affects the welfare of the community as a whole is morally good or bad, while whatever relates to the individual alone, or affects the community so remotely that its influence is barely perceptible to their short-sighted view, is neither good nor bad. The foremost virtues therefore are peacefulness and good-nature, courage and energy, patience and endurance, honesty, hospitality, charity towards both the old and the young, loyal co-operation with one's kin and providence in all questions relating to the food-supply. Fair-dealing (apart from the relations with one's kin) and truthfulness have only a secondary place, while sexual purity is hardly considered as coming within the scope of morals at all.

Their peacefulness has been recorded by earlier observers. Thus Collinson remarks, 'They have left us with the impression that they are a kind-hearted well-disposed people.... They at first with us carried their knives with the blade up their sleeves and the haft in the hand, in readiness for immediate use; but notwithstanding the dread of our firearms may have kept them quiet, I am inclined to think they are an inoffensive race.' (1) The lack of any organization for war and their avoidance of the Indians (so much in contrast to the Mackenzie river Eskimos) would alone suffice to

"1. Collinson, p. 286."

prove their peacefulness. A people that lives by the chase and glories in hand-to-hand combats with such adversaries as the polar and the brown bear can hardly be lacking in physical courage. But the Copper Eskimo is the reverse of foolhardy; courage with him is nearly always subordinated to prudence. Except in his hunting, when the tradition of a long line of ancestors makes boldness a merit, a native will never accept a risk unless the odds are greatly in his favour. He will never fight an enemy on equal terms, but will wait until he can overwhelm him with superior numbers or strike him behind his back."

2: Stefansson--78
116, 372, 181

(1908-1912) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"When heather is scarce and far from camp and wood near and easy to get, they often waste much time gathering and carrying heather, but so often do white men traveling with Eskimo waste time and energy doing in their own way what could be quickly and better done in the way of their companions. It is a common human trait, though the Eskimo has it developed more strongly than most other people, more strongly than the most 'old-fashioned' European."

2: Stefansson--129 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 181, 177

"In the district to which the personal knowledge of the writer extends (from Wainwright Inlet, Alaska, to the east end of Coronation Gulf) the Eskimo are in general satisfied with their conditions of life, the least so in the extreme west where the obtrusive pity and insistent commiseration of certain white men has taught them to pretend a discontent which they do not really feel, or at least do not feel in the way in which they have been taught to express it."

"May 14. General Characteristics of the People. The people, as Mogg's and Klinkenberg's people report from Victoria Island, are apparently of superior type. They look clean as compared with Baillie, for instance, and are models of good behavior. In fact, have manners towards strangers such as I do not suppose any white men have ever honored themselves by showing to any branch of the Eskimo race. There is interest, but no forward curiosity shown with regard to all the strange things we have and do; no laughter at a dialect which must seem funny to them; the greatest courtesy in everything, --the best seal for the visitor; the first choice of food; continual expressions of friendship; no questions as to why we came. No spitting out and calling 'bad' food we give them to taste, though all say 'We are not used to it and do not like the taste.' The same with smoking. 'We do not expect people from far away to have no manners different from us, so go ahead and smoke,' but several have had to leave the house when T. and B. smoked together. Continual invitations to come and eat though they are short of food, got three seals yesterday for thirty-eight people, an average catch, and continued bringing presents of blubber for our lamp and meat to cook, small pieces, for there is little to give. The snow today keeps melting in holes from sun, and each house is carefully patched as it appears, our clothes are carefully brushed of the least particle of snow in entering a house. On could particularize endlessly, but the sum is courtesy and good breeding with generous kindness."

"General Characteristics. While they probably once had an organic connection with the people towards Cape Lyon (and one indeed has a mother from 'far west') their present movements seem to be restricted to less than fifty miles of coast and to the strait ice just north of them. Some spend an occasional summer in Victoria Island with the Haneragmiut or the Puiplirmiut farther east. This is a very confined sphere. Perhaps this has had a strong influence. At any rate, after allowing for their not well understanding our speech, I am inclined to consider them somewhat less intelligent in general than any I have before seen. Eskimo everywhere are little interested in the oustide world; these show practically none. But as their intelligence is less, so their general kindliness and good breeding is far beyond anything I have before seen. Of course, I have seen only 'civilized' and mostly christianized people heretofore.

Their generosity was always prominent, and the expression of it was monotonous. Perhaps because of difficulty of conversing and a distaste for remaining silent, considering it impolite they kept constantly repeating 'We hope you are having enough to eat.' 'We want you to be content [241] (not lonesome) while with us. We are therefore trying to feed you well, for a man with a full stomach is seldom discontented. He is well off who is well fed,' etc. These were endlessly repeated. I believe some of their phrases have a status similar to our proverbs, for their phraseology was almost never, if ever varied. Whenever one of these sentences was uttered, most or all present acclaimed

with 'i-yarr-lĭ,' which we do not understand exactly, but which clearly is akin to our 'amen,' 'so it is,' 'so be it.' When we left we took with us a number of small pieces of meat, presents, and their last words were inquiries if it was enough and urging us to speak up if we wanted more. It has been noted that they have little themselves, especially since they have neglected sealing largely since we first came. When we were not five miles off they were spread all over the ice, hunting in earnest for the first time since we came.

Modesty is not among their conspicuous virtues, however, for as often as they expressed friendliness (which was about every five minutes) they would say 'ilyĭranaitturut' 'koyanaktūrut,' 'nagōyūrut tamapta' and when they spoke of other groups, 'They are excellent people, just as good people as we are.' They are as monotonous in this self-praise as in their good wishes to us, etc. It is to be noted, however, that the connotation of these phrases is not so much that they are an excellent, superior people, as that they are harmless, friendly, not to be distrusted. A phrase much used by the Hanerágmiut and occasionally by the Akuliakattagmiut is 'naunaittūrut' which literally, nĕllūnait turut, we are easily seen, easily discerned from afar, but which I suppose denotes 'easy to see through,' 'not given to underhand and secret practices,' 'not treacherous,' really as we appear.'"

2: Stefansson-- 278-281 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
117, 181

"Comparison of Eskimo and Indian Customs, Character, etc. It may be that I am scarcely fitted by experience for a just comparison of the two people, but then a comparison may never have been attempted by anyone better fit. Anyway, the following is set down, with some diffidence far as Indian character goes; as to hunting methods, camps, etc., here there is little chance of my going far wrong, as I have discussed what I have seen with the Hodgson's, Melvill, Hornby, and the Indians themselves. Johnny Sanderson, while quarter or half white is an Indian in bringing up and in his ideas.

The Two Peoples as Travelers. The Indians carry less impedimenta in winter and in that matter have the advantage. The Coppermine Eskimo, who carry less than any other Eskimo I know, always carry the table and other wooden furniture that goes with the lamp, besides the lamp itself and the cooking pot. They carry no tent in winter, but the Indians frequently also travel without the lodge, making 'open camps' in the wood. When tents are carried, the advantage in weight is with the Indians, for the lodge weighs no more than the modern tents of the Western Eskimo and the Eskimo carry the willow framework in addition, bulky and a little heavy. Pitching camp seems to take about the same time with the lodge and the beehive tent. But when the tent is once pitched there is no comparison in comfort. In fact, the word 'comfort' is out of place in describing a lodge camp, at least in cold weather. But thrust a foot clad in a

woolen stocking (skin would burn) as near the fire as you can bear it, and hoar frost will form on the back of your toes. It is almost impossible to dry anything, as steam rises in clouds from the snow-covered ground from the cooking and from anything in fact that gets warm. Frequently, I was unable to see Anderson's face, though he was my next neighbor, for the steam from the [279] ground. This steam condenses on the away-from-the-fire-side of any garment hung up, and alternately condenses and melts on the fire-ward side, as the fire varies in heat. If one attempts to bank the tent, it smokes, and if one camps in a low place (valley) it usually smokes anyway. This is hard on the eyes besides the moment's discomfort. Anderson was nearly blind some days and suffered considerable pain.

A lodge cannot be tolerably pitched unless at least a half-dozen poles be found of a length three or four feet greater than the height of the lodge or poles thirteen or fourteen feet long, and to be well pitched the smallest lodge should have twelve poles, while I have seen eighteen used, and seen old lodge frames of over twenty. Then from a quarter to a third of a cord of good dry wood is needed for the night (say three hours) and for breakfast (say two hours) and if one remains in camp all day a cord will be used up in cold weather. A beehive Eskimo tent can be pitched anywhere on ice or land, it furnishes some comfort though no wood be found, and a stove and two or three armfuls of wood, such as a farm boy carries to the kitchen stove, will cook two meals and dry one's clothes, keeping the tent so comfortable that one can sit in shirtsleeves

or stripped, Eskimo fashion.

Two points of advantage the lodge has over a tent. It dries deer meat or fish faster than any other ordinary way, and keeps off bluebottles and gives an agreeable smoke flavor. Back meat or sinew meat cut thin is thoroughly dry in two days. This sort of meat has the place most nearly over the fire; it is intended for making 'pounded meat' and pemmican. The boneless ribs are half-dry in the same time, though hung farther from the fire. Ribs the Indians never thoroughly dry, as they are intended for boiling.

In the matter of which are better long distance runners I have no opinion of one's superiority over the other. There are many white men who state positively the Indians are much better, but these are, so far as I know, men who know only the Indians. It is true that the Indians travel faster and stop more seldom in traveling short distances; but the apparent reason, nowadays at least, is that they are so poorly dressed they have to keep moving to keep warm, while an Eskimo is usually, if not always, comfortably warm on the body and can therefore take his ease anywhere by turning his face away from the wind.

As hunters of caribou it seems to me clear the Eskimo are better men. The Indians have about the same methods of driving deer as the Eskimo and if they differed materially I would not be competent to contrast them as to efficiency. They snare more deer than the Eskimo trap or snare but that is through the advantage of better local

conditions. But in 'straight hunting' the Indian has but one way if trees are absent for cover. He walks [280] or runs straight at the caribou, shoots poorly at long range, and depends on the caribou's curiosity and frequent stops to get in range at all. This method is equally used by the western Eskimo (the Coppermine people do not seem to use it), but only in one of two cases; when the weather is calm and the snow crusty, too stealthy approach is impossible through the deer's acute hearing; or when the deer have accidentally seen or heard the hunter and further concealment is to no purpose. Otherwise, the Eskimo have the habit of careful approach, and can often get within one hundred yards of a band of deer on even level ground, while if there are several Eskimo their approach to deer is often worthy of the term Hanbury applies when he calls it 'a carefully planned campaign.' From some point of vantage the ground is studied out (nowadays usually with the use of glasses) with reference to the wind, the direction the deer are moving, etc. It often takes an Eskimo all day to approach a band that an Indian would be shooting at fifteen minutes after he saw them; but then an Eskimo is about five times as likely to get his deer, and does not scare the animals off the hunting ground to such an extent as the Indians do. The method used by the Bear Lake Indians is well enough where caribou, when they come, come in thousands and can be butchered off hand; but in a country such as Horton River, where one needs to kill a large portion of the deer seen in order to live, they would starve, as indeed the Good Hope Indians have been completely starved out of Horton River, their

ancestral hunting grounds. On Horton River we can live well by attending to the hunt at proper seasons.

As companions when traveling my experience confirms that of Hanbury (who could contrast Eskimo and Indians from personal knowledge), Pike, Russell, etc. They are always whining when something goes wrong, are always ready to break a bargain, always haggling for more pay, always homesick and worrying about not being able to see their little grandnephews, or other distant relatives. They are afraid to go out of the territory of their own tribe, except along the Mackenzie highways of travel. None of these faults the Eskimo have in general, or at least none of them are so universally evident. Our man Ilavinirk is always worrying about starvation in a strange country, but he has some cause. He has starved, and his health is poor, he has frequently in the past been unable to hunt or travel for weeks at a time. B. and P. have none of the above faults, and T. only some of them slightly developed--is homesick, a little lazy, a good deal thoughtless and very lacking in initiative. The Indians are very much on their dignity, I have never seen an Eskimo who was. Johnnie, for instance, felt very grieved at having to do women's work, cut up meat to dry, find spruce boughs for flooring the lodge, etc. There are lazy Eskimo, but I have never known one of them to refuse doing a thing be it sewing, tending the baby, [281] cutting up meat, or what not on the ground that he was too important a person to

do these things. Few Eskimo will stand being harshly spoken to. They will leave an individual employer or a ship at no matter what loss of pay, etc., promptly if harshly spoken to by the man in highest authority be the reproof deserved or not. Indians, it seems from Johnnie's case and what I have heard will not only stand sharp words, but will be more attentive and better servants if occasionally dressed down a bit.

Honesty, at least 'business honesty' is on a higher level among the Eskimo. The Akuliakattagmiut would not accept the smallest thing without paying for it; the Western Eskimo through long training, have become beggars to a degree, but not as the Indians. But if the Western Eskimo promise pay they will deprive themselves of 'necessities' and luxuries to meet their bills. An example were the people to whom Cadzow gave credit at Rampart House the winter of 1906-7. He gave them no more than he was accustomed to give Indians as gratuities, but some of them made a three hundred mile trip from the coast (Alēkak, Tūllūrak) to pay bills of three or five fox skins, and carried fox skins for the settlements of debts of others. They were so far from Cadzow that they needed have no fear of his attempting collecting or even seeing him. It might be that Alekak and Tullurak paid their debts to get more credit; this can't be though of those who sent their furs with these two to pay debts. Most of these, or all, were without a remote notion of ever again seeing Cadzow. As a contrast, an Indian at Norman will run up as big a bill as he can with one trader, and then, before that trader's

face, take his furs to a rival trader to avoid paying his debts, and then change his trading post for another when he can get no more credit at Norman. Even now Eskimo take no 'debt' from the traders at Peel River, though some are often urged to do so, for the traders know that if they can sell to a man more than he can pay for, that man will bring the furs next year to them, whereas they might otherwise go to a whaler. And having brought furs to pay his bill, he will probably bring also the rest, for he won't have the time to go both to the 'Fort' and Herschel Island (to the ships) without forfeiting his chances of the summer white whale hunt and the fishing.

I have, however, known cases of misrepresentation, cheating and real 'confidence games' among the Mackenzie Eskimo. There are also thieves, but they are few, everybody knows them for thieves, and they are looked down on, a few years ago they would have been killed."

"I had not been long among the Musk-Ox People before it became clear to me that there was a marked difference between them and the people I had left further east. One thing that could not fail to be observed at once was the infectiously bright spirits they were always in; they were not only full of fun, they were almost defiantly self-assured and so free in their manners that it was often necessary to keep some of them down a little. This presumptious behaviour has probably been the cause of the fear in which quieter tribes hold these Kitlinermiut. On the other hand there was nothing remarkable in their self-assurance; for the vitality that involuntarily radiated from them made them more enterprising and of greater ini- [15] tiative than other natives I have met with in Canada. The very manner in which their implements, especially their bows and arrows, were finished showed that this was a people that lived up to high standards. Their order and cleanliness was exemplary, and, though suffering from a shortage of caribou skins, their garments were not only well looked after but almost elegant. The woman seemed to be expert needlewomen, and put much more work into the decoration of the clothing than the Netsiliks and Hudson-Bay Eskimos. This one circumstance alone was new to me: besides the clothing used for hunting and indoors, they had special festival garments used only in the dance-house. One gained the impression, too, that the women were unusually steady at their work and liked to finish a thing; in this they formed a contrast to the Netsilik women, who would hang for weeks over a piece of sewing without being

able to bring themselves to finish it. In addition to these virtues they had a tongue that was enough to take one's breath away; but as they were always happy and ready for a joke, they were extremely entertaining."

3: Rasmussen--16 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 181, 533

"More characteristic of the Musk-Ox People than anything else is their temperament, their inflammable mind, and the peculiar manner in which this is reflected in their songs and tales. Of all those I have met they are the most poetically gifted, and their songs are not merely restricted to epic accounts of hunting adventures and achievements of which they are proud; in addition they have a genuine faculty for moulding sentiments into words, an art that is rarely met with in these regions."

"This temperament is twofold in its manifestation; it is not only observable in their purely artistic talent, to which we shall revert later, but also in actions that do not conform to the morals of the white man. Before proceeding to portray them as singers, poets and hunting comrades, it may therefore be of interest to see how, for instance, the Canadian Mounted Police regard them -- this force once had a patrol up there. Two American scientists, Radford and Street, in the year 1913 had made a sledge journey across the Barren Grounds to the arctic coast. At the head of Bathurst Inlet, where they wished to obtain helpers for the rest of their journey westwards, they had a quarrel with the natives, and this quarrel ended in their being stabbed to death by the men of the village. Radford is described as a fiery-tempered man who had whipped the Eskimo who would not accompany them, and so he undoubtedly had himself to blame for what happened. For this reason alone it would be as well to hear the character given the Bathurst Inlet Eskimos by the leader of the police patrol. He did not fall in with the murderers themselves, only their kinsmen, whom he describes as follows:

They are all born thieves, awful liars and so absolutely untrustworthy that he would not be surprised if he heard before long that [17] more murders had been committed, as every one of them would be willing to sell his soul for a rifle.

Peculiarly enough, Leo Hansen and I had at Malerisiorfik lived almost a whole month with two of the wanted murderers, Hagdlagdlaoq and Qanijaq, the latter in fact having been our host. We got to know them as pleasant and extremely helpful men, who were

very devoted to us and left with us only the best of memories.

There is too much loose talk of 'bands of murders' among these people, as it is not always taken into account that the difference between life and death is not looked upon with the white man's solemnity. Their habits and customs are so entirely different to ours, and, in particular, their time-honoured infanticide, or extermination of 'superfluous girls' -- here as well as among the Netsilik Eskimos -- is so diametrically opposed to all forms of society that the rivalry about the women, and the many cases of vendetta which naturally follow in its wake, give birth to morals that are peculiar to these careless and temperamental children of nature."

11: Stefansson--300 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 181

"My experience of the Eskimo is that they are even more inclined than the white race to eat, wear, and use things on the ground that they are expensive and fashionable rather than on the ground that they are excellent in themselves."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

PREFACE

ONE cannot read this charming narrative of the author's life during two years with the primitive Eskimos of the Coronation Gulf Region without getting a deep sympathy for these simple, unsophisticated children of the twilight, who are still living in their communistic state, and have not felt the burden of wealth—except perhaps that someone of their best men, like "Knife," may have so much domestic equipment that it is difficult to pack all his belongings on one dog sledge when they are wandering.

Surely many readers will feel a longing to live in the snow hut or in the tent under the good care of Mother Icehouse, to go stalking the caribou or watch for the seals at their breathing holes with Father Ikpuck and the "Runner," or to play with little bright sister Jenny Sunshine.

A charming people of happy children, not yet stung by the venom of our culture, not burdened by the intricate problems and the acid dissatisfaction of our society. Starving sometimes perhaps when food is scarce (but that does not last long); and when food is plentiful life is laughing happiness with no sorrows of the past and none for the morrow. They live happily but under extreme conditions. During ages they have learnt to master the severe forces of nature, and no other people can take their place and develop the possibilities of those northern regions. But contact with our civilization, when not carefully guarded as in Greenland, will upset the whole system of their life and community, and they must sink.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

181 The greedy white men wish to get hold of their
177 furs; but what do we give them instead? Our
439 products, some of which are of very doubtful value to them, indeed, and then our ghastly, insidious diseases, and often our bad customs and morals.

They had fitted their life into the conditions of their surroundings; with their old weapons taxing the game sufficiently to satisfy amply their requirements, without reducing the stock. Then we bring them rifles, nay, even magazine rifles, offering to buy the skins. The slaughter begins; the game, formerly so abundant, will in a few years be more or less exterminated, and the main condition that made their life possible be gone.

181 What a sad guilt we white men have towards native
177 races! But these people live in a land that will be of no value to us without them.

Let there be no doubt about it; they, too, are doomed if nothing really effective is done to protect them. The land of the great white silence will never more ring with the happy mirth of these lovable children of the twilight.

Surely the Canadian people and authorities will not allow such a thing to happen, when once their attention has been drawn to it. No one can be deaf to the thrilling appeal with which the author ends his book. May he be the harbinger of a brighter dawn in twilight land. The problem must be faced, but at once and with intelligent prudence, unless it shall be too late.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN

Lysaker

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

a better idea of its shape and internal arrangements than a lengthy description. Theoretically a snow-hut may be of any size, provided you have ladders, or timber to form a staging. The Eskimos have neither. To build a large dance-hall like that shown in the plan they stand on boxes, bales of clothing, and anything that may be available. So the height of their largest hut never exceeds eight feet, and the diameter is limited to correspond. Being a sociable people, however, two families often share a single dwelling, and two or three others arrange their huts so that they open onto the same passage.

Imagine us, then, sitting on the edge of the sleeping-platform eating our supper, myself at one end of the line, Mrs. Light at the other facing her table and lamp. The different members of the family are grouped between us, two boys, a grown-up nephew, and lastly Mrs. Light's husband, who naturally has a seat beside his wife. The youngest boy carries presents of fish to the inmates of the other huts, and two little girls who return with him, bringing similar offer-